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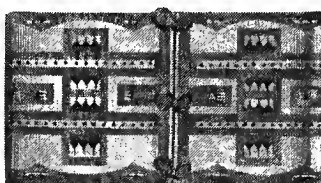
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RESEARCHES AND TRANSACTIONS  
OF  
THE NEW YORK STATE ARCHEOLOGICAL  
ASSOCIATION

LEWIS H. MORGAN CHAPTER  
ROCHESTER, N. Y.

The Founders of the New York Iroquois  
League and Its Probable Date

BY

REV. WM. M. BEAUCHAMP, S. T. D., LL. D.



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REV. WM. M. BEAUCHAMP, S. T. D., LL. D.

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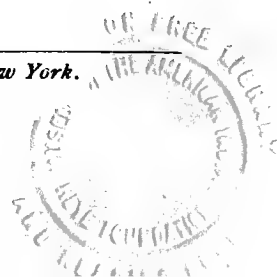


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## FOREWORD

The Rev. William M. Beauchamp, S. T. D., LL. D., is admittedly our greatest living authority on the aboriginal inhabitants of New York State. Where document and tradition fail the historian, Dr. Beauchamp reveals Iroquois life and institutions through artifacts which the Indian buried with the bones of his people. Unfortunately for the student of modern research there were no Beauchamps of his scientific mind among the classic and courageous missionaries of the contact period to gather and classify ethnic material. Within his own lifetime Dr. Beauchamp has seen archaeology become a scientific pursuit. His life lacks less than a decade of completing a century. His native state has published his works which stand as official and authoritative. Morgan Chapter is happy in the honor of publishing this venerable scientist's latest work, which is given to the world in his ninety-second year.

Dr. Beauchamp was born in Coldenham, Orange County, New York, on March 25, 1830. He went to Onondaga county early the following year and often saw the Onondaga Indians in the streets of Skaneateles and in his father's store, and thus began an interest in the Red Man. Picturesque incidents in the history of colonial New York increased this interest in early school life.

His first public lecture was on the New York Iroquois. Of archaeology in its restricted sense he knew nothing, when he took charge of Grace church, Baldwinsville, in 1865, except the little found in Schoolcraft's notes on the Iroquois, and that was misleading. On the Seneca river near which he lived was a virgin opportunity. Curious relics abounded and there were stockades and earthworks not far away.

It was some time, however, before Dr. Beauchamp thought much of these objects of study. Then strange articles were brought to him, so strange that he drew and described them

along with the more common articles. There was method in this and ten large volumes now contain thousands of original drawings with notes, and plans of other kinds. Gradually the work took in a larger field, unconsciously fitting him for the New York State Museum work which he began in December, 1896, and ended in December, 1905. This work included thirteen illustrated bulletins on early and recent life of New York Indians, one being a special volume on the history of the New York Iroquois. Since then he has made many addresses before societies on kindred subjects. For many years he was a contributor to the *Journal of American Folklore*, and an officer of the American Association for the Advancement of Science.

Dr. Beauchamp entered on his professional life, September 21, 1862, and went to Grace church, Baldwinsville, July 1, 1865, leaving there October 1, 1900, being then past seventy years of age. He received the degree of S. T. D., from Hobart College on November 30, 1886, and on June 14, 1920, he received the degree of LL. D. from Syracuse University.

Bishop Huntington appointed him one of the three examining chaplains of the diocese of Central New York, June 11, 1884. He has held that office ever since. In 1905 Dr. Beauchamp was chosen president of the Syracuse Clerical Club, and after serving twelve years declined re-election. In 1889 he was made a director of the Onondaga Historical Association, and is now eldest in years and service with the rank of honorary president. In 1911 he was one of the five honorary members of the New York State Historical Association, Theodore Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson being among the others.

Socially Dr. Beauchamp is a 32d degree Mason, and historian and vice-president of the Masonic Veterans of Central New York. Professionally he is often in the pulpit or engaged in other religious services, and indulges in botanical research in its appropriate seasons. In fact several natural sciences have helped him much in antiquarian work for which he has still a strong relish.

Dr. Beauchamp received the second award of the Cornellplanter Medal for Iroquois research, February 20, 1906. He has been adopted into the Onondaga canton of the Six Nations. His

works, published as bulletins under the authority of the Regents of the University of the State of New York, include:

“Aboriginal Occupation of New York,” 1900; “Polished Stone Articles,” 1897; “Earthenware of the New York Aborigines,” 1898; “History of the New York Iroquois,” 1905; “Civil, Religious and Mourning Councils and Ceremonies of Adoption of the New York Indians,” 1907; “Metallic Ornaments of the New York Indians,” 1903; “Metallic Implements of the New York Indians,” 1902; “Aboriginal Place Names of New York,” 1907; “Perch Lake Mounds,” 1905; “Horn and Bone Implements of the New York Indians,” 1902; “Aboriginal Use of Wood,” 1905; “Wampum and Shell Articles,” 1901; “Aboriginal Chipped Stone Implements,” 1897.

Before these he published “The Iroquois Trail” in 1892, and “Indian Names in New York” in 1893. For the Onondaga Historical Association he prepared “The Revolutionary Soldiers of Onondaga County,” 306 pages, 1912, and “Moravian Journals Relating to Central New York, 1745-’66,” 243 pages, 1916. For the same society he is now preparing a volume on New York Iroquois Folklore, which necessarily includes some portions of the present paper, but has a wider field. This will soon appear, and will include much almost unknown even to students of Indian life.

ROBERT DANIEL BURNS,  
Recorder Morgan Chapter.



## THE FOUNDERS OF THE NEW YORK IROQUOIS LEAGUE AND ITS PROBABLE DATE

Had not the Five Nations founded the Konosioni—had not the Dutch and English gained their friendship—there might have been no U. S. A., and the destinies of the world might have been changed. Yet the common name of the one who suggested the forest confederacy was practically unknown to the white man a century ago, and is hardly more than a name to most men now. Its widest celebrity is due to Longfellow, who used but the name, placing it in a foreign environment, though retaining one great feature of his character:

“How he prayed and how he fasted,  
“How he lived, and toiled, and suffered,  
“That the tribes of men might prosper,  
“That he might advance his people.”

Unselfish devotion to the good of others was the great feature of Hiawatha's character, in every tale we have of him. He was a pure-minded patriot, careless of rank or fame. The first historic mention of him shows this plainly.

There came to the Mohawk valley in 1743, Pyrlaeus, a Moravian missionary, on his way to Onondaga, but who was turned back by the Indians. He stayed awhile at old Canajoharie and learned some Mohawk words, on which he founded a Mohawk dictionary. He also learned something of their history, writing an account of this, which, until recently, was on record in Philadelphia. All traces of this have disappeared, as far as my inquiries have gone, but a few quotations have survived.

The Mohawks gave him correctly the names of the head chief of each nation at the time the League was formed, adding that this took place “one age before the white people came into the country, and was suggested by Thannawage, an old Mohawk.” This name agrees with Taenyawahke, or Taounyawahtha, which J. V. H. Clark said was the name of Hiawatha when he first came to Onondaga.

The next Indian reference to the origin of the Five Nations, as such, is from Canassatego—not the great Onondaga but a Seneca chief of Pontiac's time—and this includes, like Clark's legend, divine agency. The Konosioni land, with its beautiful lakes, forests, fields and mountains, had emerged from the waters, but was unoccupied, and one of the gods came down to create man. He sowed five handfuls of red seed in the fertile fields of Onondaga. He was the Creator of these. He addressed the children when they were grown, in these words:

"Ye are five nations, for ye sprang each from a different handful of the seed I sowed; but ye are all brethren, and I am your father, for I made you all; I have nursed and brought you up:—Mohocks, I have made you bold and valiant, and see, I give you corn for your food. Oneidas, I have made you patient of pain and hunger; the nuts and fruits of the trees are yours. Sennekers, I have made you industrious and active; beans do I give you for nourishment. Cayugas, I have made you strong, friendly and generous; ground nuts and every root shall refresh you. Onondagoes, I have made you wise, just and eloquent; squashes and grapes have I given you to eat, and tobacco to smoke in the council. The beasts, birds and fishes I have given to you all in common. As I have loved and taken care of you all so do you love and take care of one another," with much more good advice poorly followed.

When he had ended "he wrapped himself in a bright cloud, and went like a swift arrow to the sun, where his brethren rejoiced at his return." In some ways this resembles Clark's story. In this tale the country is Akanishionegy. Some years ago I found another purely human account which had escaped attention, in William Dunlap's "History of the New Netherlands, Province and State of New York," published in 1839. He had it from Ephraim Webster in 1815. An inferior chief of the Onondagas "conceived the bright idea of union and of a great council of the chiefs of the Five Nations. The principal chief opposed it. He was a great warrior, and feared to lose his influence as head man of the Onondagas. This was a selfish man." On this "the younger chief was silenced, but he determined to attempt the great political work. This was a man who loved the welfare of others." First he went to the

Mohawks and Oneidas, his scheme being rejected at home, and then to the Cayugas and Senecas. All favored the plan and a great council was called, but first he again saw the principal chief and agreed that he should be considered the author of the now popular plan and thus be made the head of five nations instead of one. He taught him, also, an old time illustration. A single stick was easily broken, but in five bound together there was strength.

Next came J. V. H. Clark's story, which he had from Abraham LaFort and Captain Frost in 1843. This he wrote out carefully with a view to oratorical effect, reading it the following winter before the Manlius Lyceum and in Fayetteville. It took permanent form in his history of Onondaga some years later, and to him we owe the name. I think two distinct stories are united in it.

In this Taounyawatha, according to him *the god of fisheries and hunting grounds*, or more correctly, said my interpreter, Ta-en-ya-wah-ke, *The Holder of the heavens*, landed at Oswego from his white canoe, ascended a hill on the west side, and looked back upon the lake, exclaiming "Oshwahkee! Oshwah-kee!" which Mr. Clark interpreted, "*I see everywhere and see nothing.*"

From this, he said, Oswego has its name. The word really means "*Flowing out,*" and is applied only to outlets of large rivers or towns upon them. Grand River in Ontario, Canada, has this name, and gave it to Lake Erie. The Great Kanahwha in Virginia had the same Iroquois name.

The mysterious visitor was approached by two Onondaga hunters, who had observed his landing, and they became his companions in wonderful adventures. As these are fully detailed in Clark's Onondaga, I merely sketch them now. In the white canoe they all ascended the Oswego river to free the country from monsters and enchantments. A great serpent reached from bank to bank, but the magic paddle cut him in twain. Some miles farther another had the same fate and the fish confined there were freed. There was the finest kind of fishing for a while. In Iroquois lore serpents are always sources of evil. It is the special office of the Thunder gods to destroy them.

The voyagers came near Onondaga lake, which then had

no outlet and extended far south among the hills. Taenyawahke made a small trench with his magic paddle, which soon deepened and widened, the lake decreased in size, the salt springs appeared—a blessing to the Onondagas, though they knew nothing of salt till 1654. This may allude to the lowering of the lake in 1825. Near the site of Baldwinsville an enchantress was destroyed who guarded the groves of chestnuts. These became accessible and spread fast.

The most marvelous adventure was above Cross lake, where two great mosquitoes, one on each river bank, destroyed all who tried to pass. One was soon slain, and the other fled with incredible swiftness, with Taenyawahke in close pursuit. Here I use my own account. The monster flew to Oneida and back to the Niagara river. An indented stone shows where the demi-god sat down to rest and have a smoke. He laid down his pipe and it burned a brown hole in the rock, which the Tuscaroras used to show. At Brighton, in Syracuse, the Great Mosquito got well tired, took to the ground and left his foot prints in the sand. Chief Abraham Hill said he had seen them there. They were bird-like and about twenty inches long. His pursuer's tracks were there, too, but I asked for no description of them. The monster met its death near North Syracuse, at a place still called Kah-yah-tak-ne-t'ke-tah-ke, *Where the mosquito lies*, by the Indians. Alas for the results. Its body decayed and became myriads of insects.

Clark's account told of the killing of two great eagles at the Montezuma marshes, who had private preserves of water fowl there. Other nuisances were abated, and then Taenyawahke laid aside his divine nature, assumed the name of Hiawatha or the *very wise man*, and made his home at Cross lake, Te-ung-to. or *home of the wise man*, according to Clark. The Onondagas call it Teunento, *at the cedar place*. Hiawatha's name will be discussed later.

There was a quiet time till the great Huron war came on, involving the Algonquins of Canada. A great council met on Onondaga lake, a little north of the village of Liverpool and a fine place for it. The peril was great. Hiawatha was summoned and after a time came, with gloomy forebodings. His daughter was with him and as they landed from the white canoe, a great



white bird swooped down, crushing the beautiful girl and being itself killed. Mr. Clark said this was the white heron, quite rare here. Its plumes, he said, were gathered up and worn by the bravest warriors.

Mr. A. B. Street, the author of *Frontenac*, had part of the story from a Cayuga chief, who said the Senecas called it *Sah-dah-ga-ah*, *the bird of the clouds*, and the Onondagas *Hah-googhs*, with the same meaning. My Onondaga interpreter called it *Hah-kooks*, and applied it to the winter gull, *the bird that never lights*. For the incident itself, my friend, Dr. Horatio Hale of Canada, was told that a strange bird was shot just at dusk, and there was a rush to see what it was. Hiawatha's daughter, in delicate health, was knocked down, trampled upon and died. Hiawatha was stupefied, but a merry chief roused him and business went on. The League was formed. Hiawatha made the last speech to each nation and all, seated himself in his white canoe, and rose to heaven amid the sweetest melody.

It is just here that a question arises. Mr. Clark used the story first as a lecture, naturally with some embellishments. He afterward said, in his controversy with Schoolcraft on the authorship of the story: "The name 'Hosee-noke,' at p. 278 of the 'Notes,' is an unadulterated fiction of my own, created for the occasion. . . . Again, the speech of Hiawatha, as it appears at p. 280 of the Notes, is a pure invention of my own."

These fictions do not discredit the reception of the main features of the story, and he cited them only to prove Schoolcraft's plagiarism, but the speeches have often been quoted as the veritable words of Hiawatha. The leading statements will stand as a rule, but it is well to remember that Clark's words are not always, as he himself says, precisely those of his Indian friends.

The story of the white canoe may be taken with reservations, but mainly because it must be compared with that of Dekanawidah, which may well be thought the original tale. In that case two stories have simply been told or received as one. The voyager came from the north on Lake Ontario, apparently from the early homes of the Onondagas, in the Black river country, perhaps from *Out-en-nes-son-e-ta*, *Where the Iroquois League began to form*—an allusion to its Onondaga origin. In Canada

and Northern New York canoes were made of white birch bark. In wars against Canada the Iroquois used brown elm bark for the same purpose, and their canoes were ruder in every way than those of their enemies. So Hiawatha's white canoe is a natural and picturesque feature in this local story.

"The Traditional Narrative of the Origin of the Confederation of the Five Nations," which begins on page 65 of Mr. A. C. Parker's State Museum Bulletin, No. 184, and was published in 1916, has, of course, something to do with the question. The narrative forms but one section of "The Constitution of the Five Nations or the Iroquois Book of the Great Law," as arranged by Mr. Parker. There are conflicting stories from different persons as might be expected, but Mr. Parker has done a great service to many students in bringing so many of them together. Some of them I have had from the Onondagas, but much less from the Mohawks, who have put the Dekanawida legends in the front rank.

It is evident from these that either Mr. Clark or his informants, confused two stories, told by two Indians at one time. There is nothing surprising in that. I quote from the Canadian story, in which, as so often in modern Indian tales, there are European features. As, for instance, when about to start, Dekanawida gives them a sign to let them know at any time whether he is living or dead. If a certain tree is cut and blood flows from it he has lost his life.

In preparation for his mission to the Iroquois he made a white stone canoe in which to cross from the north shore of Lake Ontario, and invited his mother and grandmother, in modern style, to come and see him off. "Then the grandmother said, 'How are you going to travel, since your canoe is made out of stone? It will not float?' Then Dekanawida said, 'This will be the first sign of wonder that man will behold: a canoe made out of stone will float. . . . Then he paddled away to the eastward. . . . In a few moments he disappeared out of their sight.'"

"It happened that at that time a party of hunters had a camp on the south side of the lake now known as Ontario, and one of the party went toward the lake and stood on the bank of the lake, and beheld the object coming toward him at a distance,

and the man could not understand what it was that was approaching him; shortly afterward he understood that it was a canoe, and saw a man in it, and the moving object was coming directly towards where he stood, and when the man (it was Dekanawida) reached the shore he came out of his boat and climbed up the bank.

"Then Dekanawida asked the man what had caused them to be where they were, and the man answered and said: 'We are here for a double object. We are hunting game for our living, and also because there is a great strife in our settlement.'"

Dekanawida told them to go home. The Ka-rih-wi-yoh, *Good Tidings of Peace and Power*, had come and strife had ceased. The messenger of good tidings had come. Then came a meeting with Ta-do-dah-ho, whom he commanded to return to his home, and another with the Peace Queen, whose word was law in all Indian troubles. Curiously enough she was called Ji-kon-sa-se, *the wild cat*, though her peace measures differed from her name. Then he met Hiawatha, but the stories of their first meeting do not agree.

As there is nothing to link the Onondaga chief with Canada or even Lake Ontario, the coming of Dekanawida seems the first story which Mr. Clark heard. All that passes before his hero assumes the name of Hiawatha belongs to this.

In the second tale the heavenward flight and the celestial music may be an embellishment or not, but may also have a more prosaic explanation. Up to the first great council at Onondaga lake Hiawatha's home and affiliations had been with the Onondagas. Because of his cordial reception by the Mohawks and of his friendship for their great chief, for a long time his closest companion, he had now cast in his lot with them and become a Mohawk chief. As such his name is heard in the great roll call of the condoling song. Historically conditions were changed and it was natural that he should sing a parting song, one of rejoicing because a great and glad task was triumphantly ended. If he went down the lake in a white canoe, all the better. And if we would know the words, here are some of those actually sung at Onondaga in 1655, on another peace occasion:

"Good news! good news indeed! It is all good, my brother.

It is every way good that we speak of peace together; that we use such heavenly words. O! the beautiful voice that thou hast, my friend! O! the beautiful voice that I myself have! Farewell to war; farewell to its cruel hatchet. Long have we been insane, but henceforth we are brothers—brothers indeed. This day the Great Peace is made! Farewell to war; farewell to arms. All we have now done—of every kind is in every way beautiful and good.” Could anything have been better for the completion of the “Great Peace” of an earlier day?

Mr. Schoolcraft had the manuscript of the story from Mr. Clark and published it as his own, saying he had received the tale from the Onondaga chiefs. Hence the quotations I have made. While a fair authority on the western Algonquins Mr. Schoolcraft ranks low on Iroquois themes and no one would think of quoting him as an authority on New York matters. Longfellow, however, had Hiawatha’s name from him and used western legends collected by him. With poetic license he added new features, ignored or improved those he found, but all belong to a distinct Indian family, of a strange language, and have nothing to do with the real man.

I say the *real* man, for he was such, and an Onondaga chief for some time. In Dr. Horatio Hale’s “Lawgiver of the Stone Age,” the subject is treated historically, as he had it from Iroquois chiefs at Onondaga and elsewhere. To them the supernatural features were but picturesque additions. I think he ascribed too much wisdom and goodness to him, but the general treatment of the subject is very good.

I quote Dr. Hale’s opinion, which is “that the justly venerated author of this confederation, the far-famed Hiawatha, was not, as some have thought, a mythological or a poetical creation, but really an aboriginal statesman and lawmaker, a personage as authentic and as admirable as Solon or Washington. The important bearing of these conclusions on our estimate of the mental and moral endowment of primitive or uncultivated man is too clear to require explanation.”

The tales I have received, while mystic and curious, have little of the supernatural, and are of a man using his best endeavors to secure a great peace, a League of Nations, with some aid and some opposition.

Pyrlaeus mentions Dekanawida as the leading founder of the League. Mr. L. H. Morgan (*League of the Iroquois*, p. 101) says of him:—

“Da-ga-no-we-da, the founder of the confederacy, and Ha-yo-went-ha, his speaker, through whom he laid his plans of government before the council which framed the League, were both ‘raised up’ among the fifty original sachems, and in the Mohawk nation; but after their decease these two sachemships were left vacant, and have since continued so.

“Da-ga-no-we-da was an Onondaga, but was adopted by the Mohawks and raised up as one of their sachems. Having an impediment in his speech he chose Ha-yo-went-ha for his speaker. They were both unwilling to accept office, except upon the express condition that their sachemships should ever remain vacant after their decease. These are the two most illustrious names among the Iroquois.”

In his list of Mohawk chiefs, however, Ha-yo-went-ha comes second and Da-ga-no-we-da third.” Dr. Hale says of this (*Iroquois Book of Rites*, p. 31), “During my last visit to my lamented friend (in September, 1880), when we examined together my copy of the then newly discovered Book of Rites, in which he was greatly interested, this point was considered. The original notes which he made for his work were examined. It appeared that in the list as it was first written by him, from the dictation of a well-informed Seneca chief, the name of Dekanawidah was not comprised. A later, but erroneous suggestion from another source, led him to believe that his first informant was mistaken, or that he had misunderstood him, and to substitute the name of Dekanawidah for the somewhat similar name of Shatekariwate (in Seneca, Sadekeiwadeh), which stands third on the roll, immediately following that of Hiawatha.”

On the same page Dr. Hale recorded the boastful words of Dekanawida in refusing to have a successor. “Let the others have successors,” he said proudly, “for others can advise you like them. But I am the founder of your league and no one else can do what I have done.” Dr. Hale added: “The boast was not unwarranted. Though planned by another, the structure had been reared mainly by his labors.”

In the notes to Alfred B. Street’s metrical romance of

Frontenac (1849), mention is made of Toganawedah, a beautiful young man who appeared among them just before the council, of Hah-yah-wont-hah and his wonderful passing away, and of Atotarho, the only one of the three founders who remained to complete the work. Of the latter, head chief of the Five Nations and always an Onondaga, Clark says not a word, and David Cusick nothing of the other two, while later writers place all three in the foremost rank.

In one of the tales I have received, Hiawatha, unable to do anything at home, begins his journeys and lies down beside a small lake to rest. An immense flock of ducks alights on the surface, hiding it from his sight. He stirs and the birds are frightened. At once every wing is spread, and in their rapid flight they bear every drop of water away. Another scene is before him. The bottom of the pond is white with shells and he gathers many, stringing them for future use. This, says this story, was the first Iroquois wampum, which Hiawatha caused to be used in all important business affairs.

There are several stories about this. One of mine tells of a change of materials. Hiawatha at last was far down the Mohawk valley. It was nearly night when he approached the wall of a Mohawk town. It was not in good form, for a person of note to enter an Iroquois town uninvited. So he made a shelter and kindled a fire. The light was seen and messengers came to inquire his business. He made no reply but went on stringing the short quills of the wampum bird. This wonderful bird soars above the clouds, but he had power to bring it down. The messengers were puzzled by his queer ways but asked the question again. No answer came, and they returned to the town.

"What have you seen?" asked the chief. "We have seen an old man," they said, "who looks tired and sits by a fire, but he does not rest. He has curious quills, such as we have not seen before. He puts these on strings and hangs them by the fire, but he will not say a word."

"Go back," said the chief, "and tell him we offer him food and shelter here." They went and gave their message and Hiawatha said, "Your chief must send me a string like the one I send, and then I will enter the town."

Dekanawida had no quills from the wampum bird, but

wisely used those of the partridge instead. These were accepted and then came the first lecture on the use of wampum, always indispensable since then. I had my first lecture from an Oneida chief, whose ample supply covered almost every need. From Hiawatha's first use of these strings probably came Dr. Hale's idea that his name referred to the finding of the wampum belt. Belt of Wampum was the name of a later Onondaga chief. The two chiefs were now friends and the Onondaga unfolded his plans, which the Mohawk agreed to at once. They started westward on their mission and soon came to a party of Oneidas, resting under a great tree, and Hiawatha called them Ne-ah-ten-tah-go-na, *Big Tree People*, and this is their council name still.

In the grand council it is the custom to address them by this title and not by the more common national name. Each nation has these two names, but in a council where but one is represented the national name may be used. In this case the two chiefs soon came to another large party, grouped around a peculiar large boulder, and Hiawatha called these Oneota-aug, *People of the Upright Stone*, the national Oneida name. Symbolically these may be united as a stone in the crotch of a tree.

The Onondaga council name is Seuh-no-keh-te, *Bearing the names*, and this might be applied to Hiawatha, for he gave names on every trip. Of these journeys there were several, which I group as one. Thus, when they passed through Oneida lake they were thirty miles north of the great trail to Onondaga. As they passed the islands in this lake, which have historic importance, Hiawatha had a name ready. "This is Se-u-kah, *where the waters divide and meet again*." The lake has this name still among the Onondagas.

At the Montezuma marshes they found Indians spearing eels, of which the voyagers partook. Hiawatha said, "These are Tyu-ha-kah, *People of the Rushes*. They shall be the Eel clan." He named all the clans. They were glad to reach firm land beyond, and called it Cayuga, *Where they draw the boats out*. All this took time, for each nation wanted a year for consideration, and each one agreed to the plan before the next was visited. Indians never hurry business matters, but at last the task was accomplished, the League formed, and it was

provided that the chiefs present should have successors, bearing their names as titles. Dekanawida alone would have none of this. His name appears but once and in a separate class in the great condoling song. So to speak, he disappears, leaving but fifty original principal chiefs. These are the words:

“Now then, thou wert the principal of this Confederacy, Dekanawidah, with the joint principal, his son, Odadsheghte; and then again his uncle, Dadodaho; and also again, his son, Akahenyon; and again his uncle, Kandariyu; and then again his cousin, Shadekaronyes.”

In this, as in Pyrlaeus, Dekanawida represents the Mohawks, followed by the head chiefs of the Oneidas, Onondagas, and Cayugas, and the two head chiefs of the Senecas, who formed two great bands.

A new titular head chief of the Mohawks took the place of Dekanawida in the roll call of the song, and the Mohawk list begins thus: “Now, then, hearken ye who were rulers and founders:

“Tehkarihhoken! Continue to listen, Thou who wert ruler.

“Hayenwatha! Continue to listen, Thou who wert ruler.

“Shadekarihwade! That was the roll of you. You who were joined in the work. You who completed the work, The Great League.”

It is impossible to completely separate the stories of the three founders but some variants may be grouped, and naturally Hiawatha stands foremost. They differ greatly in some respects. In one he has seven Onondaga daughters, who are destroyed by the magician, Ohsinoh, in order to oblige Hiawatha to go to the Mohawks, meet Dekanawida and form the League. Mr. Parker has told this pathetic story.

Another story gives him three Onondaga daughters, the last of whom is killed when the beautiful white bird is shot. In this case it is Tey-yoh-ron-yoh-ron, *the high flying bird which pierces the sky*, i. e., the wampum bird. In this story Hah-gooks appears in a different way.

My old friend, Baptist Thomas, had another story from his grandfather, which he told me, and afterward Mr. Parker. The idea that the great chief was at first a Mohawk is prevalent at Onondaga. I follow Mr. Parker's version in this. Hiawatha



left the Mohawks because, when his only sister, Dasiyu, died, no one came to comfort him, though he had comforted others. Through continuous fighting the Mohawks had grown hard hearted, and thus, sorely offended, Hiawatha came to Onondaga lake, built a hut near Liverpool, where he first saw Tadodaho, was frightened, and tried to get rid of him by shifting his hut from place to place. At Onondaga he took a wife, but at last went away on his great errand.

At the foot of Bear Mountain, in Otisco, he stayed one night, and in the gloom heard a familiar peace song. "In the morning he ascended the mountain, and there he found five stalks of corn springing from four roots, and there was only one large stalk at the root from which the five stalks grew. On each stalk were three large ears of ripe corn." A large turtle appeared in the morning, danced the Ostowagona, or great Feather dance, and explained what he saw. It was the turtle who sang in the night, and thus he said: "Now this is the great corn and you will make the nations like it. Three ears represent the three nations (those who had agreed to the plan) and the five stalks from a single stalk represent the five nations, and the four roots go to the north and west, the south and east."

Hiawatha went on to the Tully lakes and there occurred the episode of the ducks who dried up the pond, disclosing the shells, and farther on, the use of wampum under difficulties. He had not a fair chance.

The Onondaga chief, Dadodaho, or *entangled*, from the snakes twisting all over his head and tipping his fingers, was of bad character at first, shunned by all and opposed to the League, but was its founder according to David Cusick, who drew a famous picture of him and thus describes his appearance, mode of life and great deeds, "Perhaps 1,000 years before Columbus discovered the America." It is well he said "perhaps."

"About this time the Five Families became independent nations, and they formed a council fire in each nation, etc. Unfortunately a war broke out among the Five Nations; during the unhappy differences the Atotarho was the most hostile chief, resided at the fort Onondaga; his head and body were ornamented with black snakes; his dishes and spoons were made of skulls of the enemy; after a while he requested the people to

change his dress, the people immediately drove away the snakes—a mass of wampum was collected and the chief was soon dressed in a large belt of wampum; he became a law giver, and renewed the chain of alliance of the Five Nations and framed their internal government, which took five years in accomplishing it. At Onondaga a tree of peace was planted, reached the clouds of Heaven; under the shade of this tree the Senators are invited to sit and deliberate, and smoke the pipe of peace as ratification of their proceedings; a great council fire was kindled under the majestic tree, having four branches, one pointed to the south, west, east, north; the neighboring nations were amazed at the powerful confederates; the Onondaga was considered a heart of the country; numerous belts and strings of wampum were left with the famous chief as record of alliance, etc., after he had accomplished the noble work he was immediately named Atotarho, King of the Five Nations; and was governed by the Senate, chosen by the people annually; the successor of the kings to follow the woman's line," as they yet do.

Baptist Thomas, of Onondaga reservation, also gave his grandfather's account of Dadodaho and his encounters with Hiawatha: "He had snakes in his hair and covering his shoulders, and one great one came up from his thighs and went over his shoulders." The tradition is that his mind had been in some way affected, and he had to be sought out and cured. Dekanawida called for volunteers. Four couples were successively rejected, as in the tale of the Good Hunter, but at last two were sent in the form of birds, who found the chief and made their report:—

"At great danger to ourselves we have seen Adodarhoh. We have returned and tell you that the body of Adodarhoh has seven crooked parts, his hair is infested with snakes and he is a cannibal." A poor prospect indeed, but he could be cured if the Peace songs were sung in the proper way. A long procession was formed from the Mohawk and Oneida towns. The Onondaga frontier was reached and a fire kindled, according to custom. They were welcomed there by the chief Onondagas and all marched to the abode of Dadodaho, the singer of the Peace hymn leading. If he made a mistake or hesitated he would fail to heal the chief. He failed and so did another. Dekanawida

tried and succeeded. "Then Adodarhoh was made straight and his mind became healthy." I judge that something was still lacking as he appears in opposition later, but again became reasonable. So complete was his recovery at last that to him was given the custody of the great council fire which his successors hold to this day.

There is a dual organization of the Five Nations, and, as far as possible, each principal chief in Canada is represented by one of the same rank here. In some cases this rule fails. The Mohawks all went to Canada and left no one here to represent Hiawatha. In 1897 a published list of Canadian chiefs showed David Thomas as his successor, with Nicholas Gibson as Dadodaho. At the same time Frank Logan was Dadodaho in New York.

I attended the installation of his latest successor here in 1917. He differed much from his famous predecessor, wearing good store clothes and a fine straw hat, instead of a head dress of snakes. He could afford to dress well for he had a good position in a great automobile factory. At the woodside fire an older chief appeared to less advantage, for though he wore spectacles he hesitated over the hard words as he read his part. But then that happened also in singing the Peace Hymn for the first Tadodaho, three hundred years before.

Until quite recently Dekanawida has attracted less attention in New York than in Canada, where he poses as the real founder of the League, as, traditionally, he claimed to be. On the work and character of the three concerned there is naturally some difference of opinion. No one greatly admires Tadodaho at any time. The question is between Dekanawida's power and leadership and Hiawatha's idealism and wisdom. It may be best to say they were true yoke-fellows, pulling together and thus reaching great results.

Dr. Hale, as a Canadian who studied the subject, carefully and on both sides, said: "The Five Nations, while yielding abundant honor to the memory of Dekanawida, have never regarded him with the same affectionate reverence which has always clung to the name of Hiawatha. His tender and lofty wisdom, his wide-reaching benevolence, and his fervent appeals to their better sentiments, enforced by the eloquence of which

he was master, touched chords in the popular heart which have continued to respond until this day. Fragments of the speeches in which he addressed the council and the people of the League are still remembered and repeated."

I think my friend was right. Dekanawida was a dictator—Hiawatha a persuader; the one a demi-god, the other a sympathetic man. The so-called Constitution of the League begins with the emphatic "I Am." He does all things, and as he pleases. The mandate commences thus:—

"I am Dekanawida, and with the Five Nations Confederate Lords I plant the Tree of the Great Peace. I plant it in your territory, Adodarhoh, and the Onondaga Nation, in the territory of you who are Firekeepers."

There are curious stories of Dekanawida. He was a child of destiny and of supposed Huron and virgin birth in Canada. Others make him at first an Onondaga chief adopted by the Mohawks. It was revealed, say some, that he would bring misfortune to the Hurons, and he was thrice exposed in the winter by his grandmother, but miraculously restored. The Huron overthrow came from the League of which he claimed to be the founder. Like Hiawatha, with whom he is sometimes confused, he came across Lake Ontario in his white canoe, but it was of marble. Glooskap, the Abenaki demigod, had also a stone canoe in which he arrived and departed. The Mohawk chief is of no great prominence in New York tales, but has a leading place in Canada where most of the Mohawks now are. Besides, he looked out for them. No legal business could be done without their Lord's presence. That is very well in Canada, but was not required in early days in New York, as plainly appeared.

Leaving the Constitution for awhile there is another document officially set forth in 1900, by the Five Nation chiefs in Canada, which now combines tradition and modern rules. I pass over much of the narrative, in which Dekanawida and Hiawatha are equally active, but the former assumes leadership. When the delegates of four nations come to Onondaga lake for the final meeting with the Onondagas, these two chiefs bring some across from the west shore in the white stone canoe, which Hiawatha guides. A great storm twice arises through Tado-

daho's magic power, and twice Dekanawida commands peace, and twice there is a great calm. Hiawatha goes back for some late comers, including the Peace Queen or Mother of Nations, an interesting person. He tells them that if they cross in a great calm, it will mean that the Great Peace will be established, and so it was. The lake was still. How the delegates from four nations happened to be on the west side of the lake when half came from far east, I do not know, unless for a preliminary conference, of which a glimpse appears.

Something may be said about the names of these three chiefs and their meaning. Tadodaho's name is variously spelled, Atotarho, given by David Cusick, being the more common, and I have quoted his account in full. Pyrlaeus makes it Tatotarho, and usually it is translated *entangled*. Mr. J. N. B. Hewitt gives another spelling and meaning, Wathatotarho, *he obstinately refused to acquiesce*, but refers it to no dialect. It is not Onondaga. Dekanawida is thus given by him, as meaning *two river currents flowing together*. He thought him a pine tree chief, which anticipates too much. Arthur C. Parker accepts this meaning but in "The Constitution of the Five Nations," page 15, is this: "I am Dekanawidah, so named because my virgin mother dreamed that it should be so and no one else shall ever be named by this name." In every possible way he would stand alone.

Hiawatha's name is variously defined. Lewis H. Morgan's Seneca interpreter gave it as Ha-yo-went-ha, *he who combs*, in allusion to his combing of the snakes out of Tadodaho's head. Pere Cuoq suggested *the river maker*, with which Hewitt agrees. Daniel LaFort could give me no meaning, though Clark said he had that of very wise man from LaFort's father, De-hat-kah-tous. He probably misunderstood him, as the Onondagas often applied such words much as we do—descriptively and not as a name. A Pine Tree chief might have been thus mentioned.

Dr. Hale translated the name, *he who makes or seeks the wampum belt*, alluding to the stories of this. Strictly speaking there were no wampum belts in Hiawatha's day, though some may have been made of porcupine quills. Fresh water shells are quite rare on Onondaga sites, except of clam shells, used for food. Loskiel describes the first strung wampum as made of

short cylinders of colored wood. Real shell wampum is of historic date, but soon became wonderfully abundant when the Dutch came. Dr. Hale, however, thought Hiawatha had handled existing belts, but this would make his era too recent.

My able interpreter, Albert Cusick—who also aided Dr. Hale and Mr. Parker, and was highly esteemed by all—told me, after much study, that it meant, essentially, *one who has lost his mind and seeks it, knowing where to find it*; i. e., he might seem crazy to some, but the end would show he was right. He knew what he was about. This interpretation certainly fits the case, and Mr. Parker also accepts it in a briefer form. As with us, some names are easily defined and some have lost their meaning. The presence or omission of a letter may change the sense entirely. Of more importance than the name is the character, and that of Hiawatha is of a high type. He labors for the good of others, seeking nothing for himself. If it was a true likeness it speaks well for him. If it was idealized it speaks well for his people.

As there are few Mohawks here it is only in Canada that the true successors of the good chief follow in his train. The way in which they are chosen, the ceremonies with which they are installed, though much abridged, are of high interest still. In the nature of things the condoling songs, mourning for the dead chiefs and lamenting other changes, must be of later date than the League, but they preserve the names of those chiefs who met by Onondaga lake to do a great work—greater than they knew. Let us hope that a higher welfare may come.

From the condolence Mr. Morgan had his list of the fifty chiefs and their clanship. Dr. Hale added the songs and interpretation, a few items and ample notes. I added the full ceremonies, which I have often attended, secured all the music through Albert Cusick, who also aided me in forming the Onondaga syllables into words. This work is thus complete and none too soon. The results have been published for the State Museum. The Onondaga words are intoned at the first and second removals of the curtains. A possibility in this intoning is curiously provided for in No. 64 of the Constitution:—

“At the ceremony of the installation of Lords, if there is only one expert speaker and singer of the law and the Pacification Hymn to stand at the council fire, then when this speaker and

singer has finished one side of the fire he shall go to the opposite side and reply to his own speech and song. He shall thus act for both sides of the fire until the ceremony has been completed. Such a speaker and singer shall be termed the 'Two Faced,' because he speaks and sings for both sides of the fire."

I have often attended the Onondaga condolences, and this change might occur at the woodside fire, where the condolers and mourners sit ranged on opposite sides of this, but it is more conspicuous in the council house at the hanging and removal of the curtains. After the chant of the long roll call of chiefs a curtain is stretched across the room, separating the mourners from the condoling visitors, emblematic of the covering of the head while looking on the dead. Behind this seven bunches of purple wampum are placed on a rod, and the greatest hymn of all is sung with fine effect. The curtain is removed and a singer takes a bunch at a time, intones his song and delivers the wampum to the mourners, who place it on another rod, till all the strings are there. Then he says, "Show me the man."

The response is, "Wait." The curtain is again hung and all is repeated, usually by the same singers. Then the new chief is presented and receives his wampum and a charge telling his new duties. On different reservations there are slight variations, but written or printed copies now aid in uniformity though not in impressiveness.

Intoning is, or was, used on other occasions. In the Moravian journals at Onondaga we learn that all messages were presented to the Grand Council in this way. About the same time William Henry, a captive of the Senecas, described what he called "the quoting tone, being what they use when repeating messages, treaties or anything that has been said by others in former times, distant places or preceding councils; a tone so particular, that, if you come into a council in the middle of a speech, you can tell whether the person speaking is delivering his own sentiments or reciting those of another, this tone having the same effect in their speeches and answering nearly the same end, with our marginal inverted commas in writing, to distinguish borrowed passages quoted as authorities; only that the Indians have three differences in the quoting tone, none of which we have in writing,

viz., the approving accent, the disapproving accent, and the uncertain or doubting."

The so-called Constitution of the League is very elaborate, and has, prefixed, the legend of Dekanawida and Hiawatha. As nominal memorials of its adoption there are the two great belts which I bought at Onondaga for the State Museum, both much shorter than when I first knew them. The one of fifty rows, the Onondagas say symbolizes the evergrowing Tree of Peace, with many branches. The other of forty-five rows, is sometimes called the great covenant belt, showing many nations. Whatever their nature they are by no means old, as examination will show, but are the widest belts on record.

Knowing how Col. Van Schaick's five hundred and fifty-eight men loaded themselves with plunder and how complete was the surprise when he burned the Onondaga towns in 1779, I have little faith that many New York wampum belts are old. Read this brief record of April 25, '79, at Fort Stanwix: "This day we were busy collecting the plunder and making equitable distribution of it to each Company." On the day of the attack the same writer said, "They then plundered the houses of the most valuable things and set fire to them."

In 1696, when Count Frontenac came against them, the Onondagas had time to remove a good deal and yet lost much of value. Some caches had been made, but most were discovered. "The grain and the rest of the plunder, consisting of kettles, guns, hatchets, stuffs, belts and some peltries, were pillaged by our Frenchmen and Indians."

The probability is that all the surviving Iroquois belts were made at Buffalo and vicinity, after the Onondagas went to Buffalo creek in 1779. The British were lavish in gifts and the Iroquois never had such prosperous times. They could afford wampum belts on a grand scale.

In Mr. Parker's copy of "The Constitution of the Five Nations," p. 47, these words occur:

"A broad dark belt of wampum of thirty-eight rows, having a white heart in the center, on either side of which are two white squares, all connected with the heart by white rows of beads, shall be the emblem of the unity of the Five Nations."

In this the heart is supposed to represent the Onondagas as



the heart of the League and the squares on either side, the other four nations. A later interpretation turns the belt bottom up, the heart becoming the tree of peace—not a bad idea. Still another—when Abram LaFort, De-hat-ka-tous, in 1848 showed this belt and twenty-five others to Mr. J. V. Clark, it was “sixteen inches broad by four feet long, representing the first union and league of the Five Nations. . . . The several nations are distinguished by particular squares, and these are joined together by a line of white wampum and united to a heart in the center, implying the union of hand and heart as one.”

I saw what remained of these belts in 1878, the first white man to see them after Mr. Clark. More than half had disappeared, and this one had lost half of its length, if he measured it correctly, which I very much doubt. The usual scale would make it about ten inches wide and perhaps now less than two feet long. Mr. Clark liked large figures, but that has little to do with this belt's meaning.

The Canadian interpretation (not Mr. Parker's) goes on to say more exactly, “The first of the squares on the left represents the Mohawk nation and its territory; the second square on the left and the one near the heart, represents the Oneida nation and its territory; the white heart in the middle represents the Onondaga nation and its territory, and it also means that the heart of the Five Nations is single in its loyalty to the Great Peace, the Great Peace is lodged in the heart (meaning with Onondaga Confederate Lords), and that the Council Fire is to burn there for the Five Nations, and further, it means that the authority is given to advance the cause of peace, whereby hostile nations out of the Confederacy shall cease warfare; the white square to the right of the heart represents the Cayuga nation and its territory, and the fourth and last white square represents the Seneca nation and its territory.” The squares next the heart are the largest. This is a geographical interpretation from east to west, in which the most important nations are made the smallest, and nothing is said of the squares which have disappeared at each end. The continued white line of union shows this plainly. The old Indian interpretation holds its own. There was one heart or one tree of peace for the League, there were originally three squares on each side for

the six confederate nations. The belt is not old but is anomalous in this—that the Tuscaroras were thus included.

The Constitution is said to have been long preserved by wampum belts and strings, and lately reduced to writing. Its value is that it accurately preserves many ancient, modern and local features of Indian life. Many of these can be accurately dated at long intervals. Law making was progressive then as in our own case. All of the remaining Onondaga belts were in the bag which Mr. Clark described when I first saw them thirty-three years ago. I quote his description: "It is made of the finest shreds of elm bark, and a person without being apprised, might easily mistake it for the softest flax. Its capacity would exceed a bushel. This bag is reported to be as old as the league itself, and certainly bears the marks of great antiquity."

While I was preparing my illustrated treatise on wampum in 1899, I had an opportunity of seeing a mode of voting quite novel to one knowing only New York methods and early records. I wished to see their few remaining belts, and, if possible, get photographs of them. They had lost most of these after trusty John Buck's death, and a formal application was necessary. In due time I was notified of a meeting of the Grand Council at Oshweken and made my appearance, being assigned a lofty seat and two interpreters. The Elder Brothers, the Mohawks and Senecas, sat on one side of the hall; the Younger Brothers, the Oneidas and Cayugas, were on the other; the Onondagas, as Fire Keepers, were in the center. After some preliminaries my request went to the Lords present. They voted according to Canadian rules as they are said to have been made by Dekanawida. The 9th rule is this:—

"All the business of the Five Nations' Confederate Council shall be conducted by the two combined bodies of Confederate Lords. First the question shall be passed upon by the Mohawk and Seneca Lords, then it shall be discussed and passed by the Oneida and Cayuga Lords. Their decisions shall then be referred to the Onondaga Lords (Fire Keepers) for final judgment." If there is a disagreement the Fire Keepers decide the question, but merely confer on agreement. Then they report to the Mohawk Lords, who announce the decision. In New York historic councils each nation voted for itself. The distinctions of the

aristocracy and the common people were plainly marked at an early day. The government never has been democratic.

The Constitution may be studied to advantage, for it deals with many interesting details of every day life now, even to the broomstick across the door to show absence from home. All are fully and methodically set forth, greatly aiding those who have not time or opportunity for long or close observation.

There remains one question—that of time. When did Hiawatha and Dekanawida live, and when was the League formed? The answer is partly traditional, partly historical, but ultimately archaeological.

When closely examined the early traditions give but a recent date—the Onondagas now say A. D. 1600—a close enough period. Everyone disregards David Cusick's date of 1000 years before Columbus came. Mr. L. H. Morgan, on the belief of some intelligent Senecas and Tuscaroras "would place the epoch of its formation about A. D. 1459," and Dr. Hale accepted this. In 1875, he said, the chiefs he interviewed on the Onondaga reservation near Syracuse, said "it was their belief that the confederacy was formed about six generations before the white people came to these parts." John Buck, keeper of wampum in Canada, in 1882, thought it was then "about four hundred years" since the League was formed. The New York Onondagas afterward testified that the League was formed about A. D. 1600. Clark says of the date, "Webster, the Onondaga interpreter, and good authority, states it about two generations before the white people came to trade with the Indians." Schoolcraft said, "There is a tradition among portions of the Senecas, that the present confederation took place four years before Hudson sailed up the river bearing his name. This gives A. D. 1605." He also had a story from Ephraim Webster, through Mr. Tyler of Seneca Falls, which, he said, his father had "from Webster's own lips, namely, that the confederation, as related by the Onondagas, took place about the length of one man's life before the white men appeared," practically agreeing with Clark.

I have already mentioned the date given by Pyrlaeus, but he added another which no one cares to quote: "The Senecas, who were the last who at that time had consented to the alliance, were called the youngest son: but the Tuscaroras, who joined

the confederacy probably a hundred years afterwards, assumed that name." Now the Tuscaroras were received about 1714, and if the Seneca alliance was about 1614 or a little earlier, it agrees with Champlain's distinction of the Senecas from the Iroquois. Remember that when he, with his Canadian friends, came against the Oneida fort at Nichols' Pond in 1615, the Oneidas expected no help from the Mohawks on one side or the Onondagas on the other, nor did Champlain's followers dread interference or take the slightest precaution against it. I do not claim that there was no League at all at that date, but it certainly was not the elaborate structure pictured in the Constitution. Yet from Oneida statements the Rev. Samuel Kirkland made a date of 1608, and it really is difficult to make it much earlier.

The common objection on the difference in dialects is easily understood. At first the Onondagas were in Jefferson county, working southward into their later territory; the Oneidas were near Ogdensburg and Prescott; the Mohawks, a late offshoot of the Hurons, dwelt at and about Montreal with possessions in Vermont. There was ample space and time for differentiation and it came through the operation of natural laws. Each had its own territory, before the League as well as after, and thus its own dialect.

Before coming to Tadodaho Dekanawida called the chiefs and people together and they went in solemn procession from the Mohawk capital to Onondaga, led by one man, "singing the Peace songs as he walked." The party passed through twenty-two old village sites and camping places. "All these places were in the Mohawk country." In the condolence song Dr. Hale has eight of these for the Wolf clan, six for the Turtle, and four for the Bear, with five lately added. There is no distinction of nationality, and Oneida, Onondaga and Seneca, recent names, are easily recognizable among them. My Mohawk copy of the condolence has the same with slight variations in spelling. I will point out but one, and this is of special interest. It is O-nen-yo-deh, *the protruding stone*, which gives the Oneidas their name. I give the following account, written by my friend, Mr. A. W. Palmer, who has done much successful research work at the Oneida fort site of 1615. As it is not mentioned in my

Aboriginal Occupation of New York I will say it is a moderate distance to the south of Perryville, and that this original Oneida stone has been destroyed. The series of stones varied greatly in form and size. Mr. Palmer said:—

“In my early youth the Indians used to pass here frequently, and nearly always toward the south. I feared them greatly. To my anxious inquiries as to where they were going and what for, my grandfather told me that they went up to Fenner to visit the place where they used to live, and to camp near a rock, which he called their ‘council stone.’ Later I learned that the rock in question was on the farm now owned (1900) by Patrick Dougherty, and on the site of a well-known historic Indian village. From the family of Paul Maine, who lived about one-fourth mile from the stone, I learned that the Oneida Indians visited the stone twice a year, sometimes camping for days in the vicinity; but never at the stone—visiting it only at night. Miss Phebe Maine, in whose company I first visited the stone, told me something of the legend of the stone rolling there from the far northwest, and pointing out to the tribe the place on which to build their village. . . . She also told me that, as a child, in company with some older persons, she once saw a part of some strange ceremony performed by the Indians about the stone. The stone in question was a large granite boulder, somewhat oval in shape and as tall as a man. It was drilled and blasted . . . for James Gebbery of Perryville, who then owned the farm.”

Mr. Palmer also wrote me that this was a mile southeast of Perryville, and “was a dark crystalline stone, quite erect and reaching about seven feet above ground.” His early home was near Clockville.

Champlain’s expedition of 1609 was against the Mohawks or Iroquois, as he always termed them, and he defeated a large party. That of 1615 was “against the Antouhonorons,” elsewhere called an Iroquois fort. “The Antouhonorons,” he said, “are fifteen villages, built in strong positions; . . . their country is fine and in a good climate near the River St. Lawrence, the passage of which they block to all other nations. . . . The Iroquois and the Antouhonorons make war together against all the other nations except the Neutral nation.”

Thus the Iroquois were then distinct from, but allied with the Antouhonorons, whose country was around Lake Ontario. In early accounts the Iroquois or Mohawks commonly include the closely related Oneidas, the French distinguishing the rest as the Sonontouehronons or Great Hill People and the Dutch calling them Senecas. It was not until December, 1634, that the Dutch visitors at Oneida learned the names of all. There was then no treaty with them as a body, but one was made in 1645.

In 1635 the Jesuit Relations mention all individually and collectively for the first time, adding "all of whom we comprehend under the name of Iroquois." Yet the Relation of 1643 divides all into Senecas and Mohawks, like the Dutch, and the latter rarely used the other names before 1662. The alliance was at first for peace between themselves, each nation making its own treaties. In 1636 there was peace between the Hurons and Senecas, and a young Seneca at once joined the Onondagas that he might still wage war. It was a mistake for him, for he was captured and terribly tortured.

In 1654 the Mohawks were quite hostile to the Onondagas, and "were at the point of entering into war" with the Senecas, but these little affairs were settled. The League had much to learn in its youth.

That the Mohawks once lived in Canada is well known. When Jacques Cartier ascended the St. Lawrence to Quebec and Montreal in 1535 he heard Iroquois spoken so much that he preserved some words and names. At Montreal he visited and described an Iroquois town. In 1691 the four western nations told of a ship which visited their forefathers in former days, adding that "in that ship were Christians, amongst the rest one Jacques with whom we made a Covenant of Friendship," when or with whom we can only surmise. Cartier found Iroquois living on the St. Lawrence in 1535. Champlain went up the river in 1603 and not one remained. Where had they gone? The historical answer is into what is now New York, but not at once.

The story of Algonquin perfidy was told by several early historians, and Charlevoix said it was the most credible story of the origin of the Iroquois war that he could find. The outraged Iroquois "bound themselves by oath to perish to a man

or to have their revenge." They left Canada, learned war prudently, and in due time, said that writer, "They poured all at once upon the Algonquins, and commenced that war of which we saw only the conclusion, and which set all Canada on fire." He thought the outrage was of rather recent date when Champlain came.

In this the earliest date we have is 1535, when the Iroquois were peacefully living in Canada, which leaves sixty-five years to the Onondaga present date of the League in 1600. Anyone can see that it is idle to place it before 1535. In the due time that elapsed there was quite an interval of peace, an orderly exodus from Canada, a time of prudent preparation for war by an unskilled people, seeking hiding places for a time and then gradually coming into the open, ready for the fight. I usually date the League in 1590, in deference to some others, but with an inner feeling that ten years or more later is nearer the truth.

The difficulty is to tell where they were during this time of preparation. As Charlevoix said of that time, the Algonquins "never yielded to them in valor and could easily have crushed them by numbers." Champlain's words may be recalled here. As they paddled along the western shore of the lake in 1609, his Algonquin allies told him that the Vermont shore belonged to the Iroquois—his name for the Mohawks—and that there were beautiful valleys and fertile cornfields there, well suited to a people like them. The mountains were a natural defense and the valleys gave them food. While there they built no large towns, lest they might attract attention, waging war only on southern foes where their future homes were to be. Thus they prepared for a better day. The time came and now they had entered the Mohawk valley, without relinquishing their northern claims. The historical argument can be carried much farther. What does archaeology say?

As regards New York this is, in a way, a new science. Once we gathered Indian relics merely as such, classifying them as pipes, pots and potsherds, arrowheads, stone axes, etc. Now we say, "This is Iroquois; this Algonquin; this Eskimo; this from the Mound builders; this from Illinois; this from Long Island." We read unknown history in this way. We say the Eskimo, just so far south of Lake Ontario and just so far west

along its shores, came here to hunt and fish in by-gone days. As yet we do not say when this was, but of the fact we have no doubt. We can apply part of this to the Mohawk valley, distinguishing every Mohawk Indian site from the Algonquin and others, and often its relative age.

The real question is not when did the Senecas, Cayugas and Onondagas enter their historic territory. In this order they came at an early day. Ask rather, When did the Oneidas, and above all the Mohawks, come? This simplifies the matter for, beyond all doubt, they were the last comers.

In the Oneida territory I have but one important site to examine more exactly. A brief visit gave some recent features and its reputation tends in the same direction. It is among the hills and there were no early Iroquois town sites in the lowlands near Oneida lake. In the Mohawk valley it is much the same. Van Rensselaer bought all of Albany county from the Mohikans, but the Mohawks held the valley from Schenectady westward to Little Falls. In 1630 they had a fort east of Schoharie creek, which they abandoned at that time. Prehistoric forts are rare—in fact I may say but three are definitely known there. One on the south side of the Mohawk, which I partially examined, seems old, as I think it is. It has a simple bank across an elevated terminal plateau between two streams, and was figured by Mr. E. G. Squier in 1848. He said it is, “in many respects, the most remarkable in the State. It is the only one known which is situated upon waters flowing into the Hudson river. Its nearest neighbors upon the west are the ancient works in Onondaga county, a hundred miles distant. Between it and the Atlantic, we are not aware of the existence of a single monument of like character.” Later research gives different results.

On the northern side it is hard to date the northernmost fort as early as 1590, so closely does its earthenware connect it with recent sites. Another I have not visited, but know its character and contents, which are much like the last. With two competent local archaeologists I went to almost every known Mohawk site in that part of the valley—all that I would consider old—and our reluctant conclusion was that the Mohawks but recently entered their valley, and that Hiawatha's day was but



little over three centuries ago. The League was not formed till the Mohawks came. That is plain. We know very closely when they came. In three ways I have tested the matter, and cannot escape the conclusion of the New York Onondagas, that, at or about the end of the sixteenth century, the League was formed. It is idle to say that the Onondaga council fire burned from time immemorial in their own valley. We know when it was kindled there and can point out and date every place where it burned for 120 years before that time. There were six of these east and southeast of Onondaga lake.



## **THE NEW YORK STATE ARCHEOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION.**

### **Lewis H. Morgan Chapter.**

The object of this Chapter shall be to promote historical study and intelligent research covering the artifacts, rites, customs, beliefs and other phases of the lives of the aboriginal occupants of New York State up to and including contact with the whites; to preserve the mounds, ruins and other evidences of these people, and to co-operate with the State Association in effecting a wider knowledge of New York State Archeology, and to help secure legislation for needed ends. Also to maintain sympathetic appreciation of the history of the American Indians, particularly of those now resident in New York State, to the end that all of their ancient wrongs and grievances may be righted agreeably to their just desires both as to property and citizenship.

Also to publish papers covering the results of field work of members or other matters within the purview of the Chapter.

All persons interested in these subjects are invited to become members of the Association or of the local Chapter nearest to them.

The Association and its Chapters plan to issue a uniform series of transactions and researches covering all fields consistent with the objects of the Association.

All members of the Association or of its constituent Chapters are issued a membership certificate suitable for framing and a pocket membership card serving as an introduction in the field where collecting is contemplated.

The Association is approved by the State Education Department, University of the State of New York, and is working in co-operation with the State Museum.

Address all correspondence to Alvin H. Dewey, Box 185, Rochester, N. Y., or Walter H. Cassebeer, 84 Exchange St., Rochester, N. Y., or Dr. Arthur C. Parker, State Museum, Albany, N. Y.



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